

Message Text

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ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, EEC, CY, BE

SUBJ: US/EC PRESIDENCY DIALOGUE: REQUEST FOR US VIEWS

REF: (A) BRUSSELS 10356, (B) BRUSSELS 10414

1. FOLLOWING IS EXTRACT FROM A RESEARCH PAPER RECENTLY
PREPARED IN THE DEPARTMENT WHICH REFLECTS GENERAL WASHINGTON
UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL SITUATION WITHIN GREEK CYPRIOT
COMMUNITY IN CYPRUS AND CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR INTERCOMMUNAL
TALKS. IT CONTAINS NO PREDICTION ON HOW THE MAKARIOS
SUCCESSION WILL BE ULTIMATELY RESOLVED. NOR IS IT A STATE-
MENT OF US POLICY. BUT WITH THESE CAVEATS, IT MAY BE USED
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AS BASIS FOR BRIEFING BELGIANS WHO, WE PRESUME, WILL PRO-
VIDE THIS INFORMATION TO OTHER MEMBERS OF EC-9.

2. DEPARTMENT OFFICERS BRIEFED BELGIAN EMBASSY OFFICER
IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK ON GENERAL SITUATION IN THE EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN. REQUEST WAS MADE AT THAT TIME FOR INFORMA-
TION ABOUT WHAT EC-9 MEMBERS INTEND TO DO ABOUT CYPRUS

RECOGNITION ISSUE, OUR OBJECTIVE BEING TO HAVE AS MANY EC-9 MEMBERS AS POSSIBLE INDIVIDUALLY REAFFIRM THAT MAKARIOS' DEATH DID NOT ALTER THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. BELGIAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL SAID HE THOUGHT THIS QUESTION WOULD

BE TAKEN UP BY EC-9 AT FORTHCOMING MEETING, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR SEPT 6-7 POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING (REF B).

3. SANITIZED TEXT OF US PAPER WHICH YOU MAY SHARE WITH BELGIANS READS:

BEGIN TEXT: THE NEW SITUATION IN CYPRUS

A. THE GRUDGINGLY-REACHED CONSENSUS AMONG GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERS THAT KYPRIANOU IS TO BE MAKARIOS' INTERIM SUCCESSOR MASKS THE DISUNITY AND EXTREME FLUIDITY OF THE GREEK-CYPRIOT POLITICAL SITUATION. THERE IS REALLY NO REPLACEMENT FOR MAKARIOS, AND WITH HIS PASSING THE SHORT-TERM PROSPECTS FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD A CYPRUS SOLUTION SEEM MUCH DIMMER.

B. NOT ONLY DID MAKARIOS MAKE A PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO WORK TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IN 1977, WHICH HIS SUCCESSORS MAY OR MAY NOT CONTINUE, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, MAKARIOS POSSESSED THE LEGITIMACY AND THE STATURE TO FIX
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AN INDEPENDENT CYPRIOT POLICY FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO UNIFY HIS PEOPLE BEHIND IT. NO MATTER HOW MUCH MAKARIOS' LEGACY MIGHT BE INVOKED BY THOSE WHO FOLLOW HIM, THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE NEITHER THE AUTHORITY NOR THE POPULAR SUPPORT TO PURSUE ON ITS OWN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY.

C. GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL WATCH CLOSELY OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS FOR INDICATIONS BY WHICH THEY CAN MEASURE THE STRENGTH AND STEADFASTNESS OF THE WESTERN COMMITMENT TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WESTERN EFFORTS TO PERSUADE THE CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES TO REMAIN IN CONTACT AND TO CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE IDEAS, PARTICULARLY IF ACCOMPANIED EVEN BY SMALL SUCCESSES, WOULD STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THESE--PRINCIPALLY THE MODERATES AND THE CENTER-RIGHT--WHO LOOK TO A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM THROUGH INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WESTERN INACTION MAY BOLSTER THE FORTUNES OF KYPRIANOU AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, OF HIS CURRENT BACKERS ON THE LEFT, WHO DISPARAGE THE INTERCOMMUNAL FORUM AND SEEK TO "INTERNATIONALIZE" THE CYPRUS ISSUE THROUGH A UN DEBATE OR THROUGH THE CONVOCAION OF A SPECIAL CONFERENCE ALONG GENEVA LINES.

D. THE SUCCESSION. SPYROS KYPRIANOU WILL SERVE AS INTERIM PRESIDENT UNTIL FEBRUARY 1978, WHEN ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD FOR A FULL FIVE-YEAR PRESIDENTIAL TERM. BOTH THE LEFT AND THE CENTRIST "ESTABLISHMENT" HAVE INDICATED THAT, AS WITH THE INTERIM PRESIDENCY, THEY WOULD PREFER THAT THE

PARTIES AGREE TO PUT UP A SINGLE NOMINEE IN FEBRUARY, WHO WOULD THEN BE ELECTED BY ACCLAMATION.

E. AMONG POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR FEBRUARY, KYPRIANOU WILL OF COURSE ENJOY THE TRADITIONAL ADVANTAGES OF INCUMBENCY AND WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD UP A PERSONAL BASE OF POWER. HE HAS AT PRESENT THE UNITED SUPPORT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES, WHO PERCEIVE HIM AS THE RESPECTABLE LEADER MOST AMENABLE TO THEIR INFLUENCE. ALTHOUGH THE TWO LEFTIST PARTIES OBTAINED 45 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN THE LAST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, NEITHER THIS POPULAR SUPPORT NOR THAT OF KYPRIANOU'S OWN PRO.MAKARIOS DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS NECESSARILY SOLID.

F. MANY PROMINENT GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERS, INCLUDING FOREIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES, FINANCE MINISTER PATSALIDES AND INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS, WHILE NOT MEMBERS OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY, CONSTITUTE A LOOSE BUT INFLUENTIAL "ESTABLISHMENT" THAT IS BASICALLY MODERATE AND PRO-WESTERN IN ORIENTATION AND IS OPPOSED TO KYPRIANOU AS BEING TOO SUSCEPTIBLE TO DOMINATION AND MANIPULATION BY THE LEFT. THIS GROUP WILL ATTEMPT TO CIRCUMSCRIBE KYPRIANOU'S POWERS WHERE POSSIBLE AND WILL SEEK TO PUT FORWARD A NON-PARTISAN MODERATE SUCH AS PASCALIS PASCALIDES (CHAIRMAN OF HELLENIC MINES) OR PATSALIDES AS A CONSENSUS CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN FEBRUARY.

G. GLAFCOS CLERIDES ALSO INTENDS TO BE A CANDIDATE IN FEBRUARY. HE MAY BE THE SINGLE MOST POPULAR POLITICIAN IN CYPRUS TODAY, YET HE HAS THE LIABILITY--WHICH HE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO SHED IN TIME--OF HAVING INCURRED MAKARIOS' DISPLEASURE IN 1975 AND OF HAVING FALLEN FROM HIS FAVOR. HE CAN EXPECT VIGOROUS OPPOSITION FROM THE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS. CHRISTOPHER

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